/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept
(464) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are
(286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

596 474 554 434 [436] [581] /163 cont./ not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.

Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management 594 554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 474 177 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a [872] [875] [562] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.

* * * *

596 594 [561] The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 594 613 554 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] [875] [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 474 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

53

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-